Story of
The Cabinet Mission
In India

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Dedicated to Aruna

INDIAN HISTORY AT A GLANCE

India can boast of the most ancient civilization in the world. Before the first great Egyptian pyramid was built there was in existence on the western bank of the Indus a civilization 'as old as any yet known to historians.' According to Sir John Marshall, who directed excavations at Mohenjodaro (Sind) and Harappa (Punjab) in 1924, these discoveries established the existence in Sind and the Punjab, during the third and fourth millenia B. C., of a highly developed city life. Sir John says " The presence, in many of the houses, of wells and bathrooms, as well as drainage system, betoken a social condition of the citizens...superior to that prevailing in contemporary Babylonia and Egypt " Messers. F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson say " Excavated at these cities were household utensils, painted pottery, chess-men, coins older than any previously known, highly developed stone carving, copper weapons, a

model of two-wheeled cart, the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle, bangles of gold and silver and necklaces and other jewellery ' so well finished and highly polished that they might have come out of a Bond Street Jeweller's of to-day rather than from a pre-historic house of 5000 years ago.' Very little is known of the period between Mohenjodaro and the coming of the Aryans but historians agree that Dravidians, the oldest historic people of India, were highly advanced. The Aryans were responsible for the caste system, the system which has come down even to the present day. The Vedas, the oldest literature in the world, give a vidid description of the Hindu way of life as it developed after the Aryan invasion. The Upnishidas, written much later than the Vedas, were composed much earlier than *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The teachings propounded in these books, composed by Hindu Sages and Saints, have ever since dominated Hindu thought.

Budha, in the sixth century, founded a new agnostic religion. He preached the Noble

Eighthfold Path (right views, right intentions, right speech, right action, right livelihood,right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration). Though Budhism spread in countries like China, Japan, Ceylon, Burma and Siam, it did not succeed in its challenge to orthodox Hinduism in India.

Alexander the Great, attracted by the creation of wealth by industry and trade in India, marched over the HinduKush and descended upon this country. He fought battles and also set up a tributary king but a few years later not a trace of his authority remained. The chief agent of its uprooting was Chanderagupta who established a dynasty which ruled for more than a century. Asoka, Chandragupta's grandson, ruled during the latter half of the third century. He succeeded in uniting all, but a small portion of India, under his wise and benevolent rule but failed to convert India to Budhism, the religion which he himself professed.

The period after Asoka the Great is called the Golden Age in Indian History. During this

age were produced the *Mahabharat* and '*Ramayan*', the great Hindu epics. Then followed, unluckily, a period of invasions by the Huns, the Turks, the Persians and the Mongols *i. e.* the Moghals.

Mahmud of Ghazni was the first Muslim to conquer India. He swept across the frontier from Afghanistan, defeated the Hindus, who were miserably disunited, slaughtered them cruelly, plundered their cities, smashed their *Mandirs*, and carried off jewels unbored pearls and rubies shining like sparks or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of metal and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates". The Muslim conquest of India has been described as "probably the bloodiest story in history".

In 1186 another Muslim Mohammad Gauri captured the city of Delhi, destoroyed its temples and made a serious attempt to establish,in Northern India, an alien despotism which was to last for three centuries. The Sultans, in turn, were conquered by Changez Khan and then by Babar, who founded the

Moghal Empire in 1526.

During the reign of Akbar the Great, the grandson of Babar, the Moghal Empire reached the climax of its power. He succeeded in conciliating the Hindu Aristocracy, which had sullenly remained aloof so far. He also strove, for the first time in Indian History, to evolove a religion that would combine the best of all religions. He called it *Din-i-Ilahi* (the religion of God) *Din-i-Elahi* was destined to be even shorter-lived than his empire. The chief cause of the decline of the Moghal Empire was the intolerance of Aurangzeb, the seventh and practically the last Moghal Emperor.

Vasco da Gama was the first European who came to India by sea in 1498. He took with him to the king of Portugal a letter from the Hindu Raja of Malabar asking for gold, silver, coral and scarlet in return for cinnamon, cloves, pepper and precious stones. To this letter the king's reply was an invasion upon India. A fleet was sent with orders to wage war and spread Christianity. In the

seventeenth century the Dutch arrived and drove out the Portugese. The Dutch, in their turn, were driven out by the French and the English. Among the French and the English many a bloody battle was fought. The French lost. The British rule came to stay.

The story of the British rule in India, since 1686, when the East India Company came to India for trade, makes tragic reading. The trade motive soon gave place to the ambition of ruling the country for their own benefit and the events that follow throw ample light on the character of the British and dashes to the ground all false claims put forward by British politicians that India has been " White Man's Burden."

A brief account of the British 'achievements' in India is necessary to enable the readers to understand correctly the political structure of India to day.

After passing through a hectic and turbulent period of wars with other foreign powers, that coveted India and playing the

native rulers one against the other, the East India Company eventually succeeded in establishing its sway over a very large part of the country.

In 1857 a violent uprising broke out against the British who, through superior military equipment and the help of some local mercenaries, succeeded in putting it down.

In 1858 the British Government 'purchased' India from the Company for £ 12,000,000 the sum being paid not by the purchaser but by the people of India, against whom it was charged as a public debt. Henceforth India came under the direct rule of the British Parliament.

From 1858 to 1909 India was ruled by the British with the help of a few educated Indians occupying subordinate administerative positions, but not in any way representing the people and having no voice in the determination of the policy. The Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet, was placed at the head of the political machinery by which India was governed. In India, the Viceroy, appointed by the Crown and responsible only to the Secretary of State, was supreme as constitutional head. In consultation with a small advisory council of Englishmen he administered India. The provinces were

governed by English Governors appointed by the Crown. The Indian Princes ruled their territories autocratically paying allegiance to the Crown, and being protected in turn by the British Government in India. Eventually the educated Indians began to rebel and the need on the part of the Government to keep in touch with public opinion necessitated the introduction and the gradual development of institutions more representative of the peoples' will.

In 1909 the Indian Councils Act (Morley Minto Reforms) was introduced as a concession to the growing agitation for self government. It provided for an elected Indian majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils and an elected minority in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. These Councils had no control over administration of finances and their legislation was subject to veto.

Following the First World War the Government of India Act of 1919 (Montague-Chelmsford Scheme) was introduced. It set up two houses : A Council of State or Upper House, nearly half of which was nominated by the Government, whereas the rest of the representatives were elected by less than 18000 voters for the whole country ; and a Legislative Assembly or Lower House, with an elected majority on the basis of a franchise of

less than half of 1% of the population. The British Viceroy, or Governor General, had unlimited overriding powers to veto or certify legislation.

The provincial legislatures had a majority of elected members. The franchise represented 2 8 p.c. of the population. Ministers responsible to the legislatures were given control over health, education, etc, with no control over finances. More important subjects, such as Police and Land Revenues, were trusted to Ministers reponsible only to the Governor (not elected but appointed by the Crown) The Governors had powers both to veto and to certify legislation.

The object of 1919 reforms was the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India.

The British Government and the Government of India were to be judges of the time and measure of each advance.

The Government of India Act of 1935

This Act provided for

(1) The establishment of an All India Federation of the Indian States (The Princes) and British India under the Viceroy.

(2) Provincial Autonomy with Indian Ministers having restricted powers, responsible

to elected Provincial Legislatures, and subject to the over-riding powers of the Provincial Governors.

The Federation has, however, not been established because of Indian Nationalists' opposition on the ground that it gave India no control over foreign affairs or the military, and only limited control over central finances; because of the reluctance of the Princes to join it for fear of losing part of their absolute authority; and finally, because, due to the outbreak of the war, further desirable constitutional changes had to be put off. The Central Legislatures are still those established by the 1919 constitution (The Part of the 1935 Act applying to the provinces has been in effect since 1937).

The present Central Legislature, based on the 1919 constitution, consists of two houses. The upper house has 60 members, of whom 27 are nominated by the Government and 33 are elected by 18.000 voters with property qualifications for all India. Of the 145 members of the lower house, 40 are nominated and 105 elected. In the 1937 election these members were elected by less than one-half of one per cent of the population of British India, because of property or education qualifications divided by the constitution along religious lines.

In the provincial elections, held in February 1937, the Congress came out triumphant in 6 out of 11 provinces, but refused to form ministries until assurances were given that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day administration under the safeguards and reserved powers contemplated in the Act. After 4 months these assurances were forthcoming in June 1937 and Congress Ministries were formed in July in 6 provinces. Later Assam & N. W. F. toed the line with the Congress Provinces. They were in office for two years and three months. During this short they had considerable legislation and period numerous reforms to their credit.

The outbreak of the 2nd World War on September 3, 1939 brought up to the fore the question of Congress participation in war-effort The Congress Working Committee asked the British Government what their War aims were and how they were going to apply that to India. The astounding reply. that was vouchsafed to this country, was that the British had not as yet settled their own war aims. This left no alternative to the Congress Ministries but to resign and they all went out of office in October and November 1939 with the result that the provinces concerned were taken charge of by the respective Governors under section 93 of the Act of 1935.

Individual Civil Disobedience

In August 1940 Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, made simultaneous statements to the effect that a few more seats in the Executive Council of the Governor-General would be thrown open to the Indians and that Federation could not be implemented as 90 millions of Muslims had strong objections to its being done. There was no alternative before the Congrese but to meet this affront by declaring Individual Civil Disobedience as a protest against India being dragged without her knowledge and against her will into a war, which was not her own. Gandhi remained outside to conduct this movement and was allowed to do so by the Viceroy as it suited the latter. Every Satyagrahi had to spin and spin well before he could offer Civil Disobedience. Names were picked and chosen and after a year's campaign the Civil Disobedience prisoners were released.

It may be mentioned here that in 1940 Pandit Nehru offered the British complete military co-operation on the condition of India's freedom. Mrs. John Gunther, in her book "Revolution in India" says "England turned it down; it meant the end of British rule."

Cripps Comes to India

We now enter upon the year 1942, in which early in March an announcement was made in Parliament that Sir Stafford Cripps would be taking a new offer from the British Government to India. Cripps arrived in India on 23rd March and left for England on 12th April, 1942. It was in between these dates that the Japanese pursued some American ships laden with munitions and chased them from Trincomalee to Vizagapatam. Bombs were thrown on Coconada and Vizagapatam. People were machine - gunned in the harbour at the latter place. The storm, however, blew over and the apprehended invasion of India did not come off. The Governor of Madras took an alarmist view and virtually drove away the ships in the harbour to meet their own fate on the high seas and advised the people in the city to evacuate it and go wherever possible. There was a huge exodus which, however, subsided before 20th April. No sooner had Sir Stafford Cripps reached Delhi than he opened his mission on 25th March with a conversation with the Congress President, who later declared that he had been assured by Cripps that the relations of the new would-be Indian Cabinet to the Viceroy were intended to be the same as those of the British Cabinet to the British King. This gave high hopes, although Gandhi thought

that the scheme of Cripps was not worth looking at nor should be looked at, for it contained a provision for any province to cut itself out of the Indian Union. Gandhi left Delhi on 5th April and had no further contact with the Working Committee. The States' people did not find a place in the picture. India's destiny was to be decided by herself, between Dominion Status and Complete Independence. A Constitution-making body was to be formed after the war from out of the Provincial Legislatures after the latter were duly renewed. In return for all this the Indians should co-operate in war effort and from a National Government, which would, however, not be responsible to the Legislature but only to the Viceroy. In the course of negotiations, it was conceded that although the Commander-in-Chief would be in exclusive charge of the conduct of the war, there would be a Defence Member in charge of certain minor sections of the Defence Department. This did not satisfy the Congress, nor would Cripps agree to revise the list of subjects proposed to be handed over to the Defence Member. The negotiations broke upon the failure to concede the Cabinet's responsibility to the Legislature and the expansion of the jurisdication of the Defence Member. That Cripps was stabbed in the back from London and that his latitude for negotiations was later curtailed, was

widely talked of at the time. Anyway, Cripps Mission failed and he placed the responsibility for the failure on the Congress and on Gandhi. Before the departed, he told two Indians that India would witness a measure and kind of repression, the like of which she had not seen before.

"Quit India".

Here begins still another Era - the Era of Mass Revolt in India. Cripps's departure created a vacuum. Gandhi realised that so long as the British held power there was no salvation for this country. He reversed his slogan of communal unity first and Swaraj next into its opposite, and demanded that the British should Quit India, by which he meant that they should part with power, should cease to rule India Gandhi agreed to the retention of the American troops for war purposes. But he urged mass disobedience against British Rule, of course on his own plane of Satyagraha. On August 8th 1942 the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution setting forth the National Demand that (1) for India to participate in war-effort and render aid—not merely moral but material as well—she must be made to feel that she is a free and independent nation, and (2) that the freedom of India should be the symbol of and prelude to the

freedom of Colonial nationalities which were still under British subjection. The A.I.C.C. declared that failing these points being conceded, India would have no alternative but to embark upon a campaign of Mass Civil Disobedience. At the same time it was clearly explained by Gandhi, who was appointed the Generalissimo to conduct the operations, that he would not launch any such campaign until he saw the Viceroy with whom he was straightaway seeking an interview. Hardly, however, had the Resolution been passed on the 8th August 1942, when in the early hours of the morning of the 9th, wholesale arrests were made of Mahatma Gandhi, the Members of the Working Committee and many others. They were all taken in a special train (1) Gandhi to be housed in the so-called Agha Khan Palace near Poona, an old, semiruined, ill-kept, ramshackle house, looking more like the abode of ghosts than a place fit for the sojourn of saints, (2) the Working Committee to be lodged in the Ahmednagar Fort and (3) the rest for the time being in Yeravda. The place of detention of the Working Committee was kept a secret until the 22nd of February 1944. The news of the arrest of Gandhi and the Members of the Working Committee spread like wild fire and infuriated the masses almost as it had done in 1919 when on his way to the

Punjab after the Jallianwalabagh massacre at Amritsar. Gandhi was arrested and turned back from Palval, a station some 60 miles from Delhi. The masses gathered in thousands in Bombay and in other cities in India and were dispersed at the point - not merely of the lathi or the bayonet but of the rifle and the machine gun. The leonine violence of the authorities roused the "inflammablest, Immeasurablest masses" to the heights of their fury and they soon lost control over themselves whilst there were no leaders left in the country to exercise control over them. A vicious circle was thus established in which the old story of brickbats and bullets was repeated by Government and of looting and arson was repeated by the people. It is strange how similar are the methods of self-expression of popular rage at a time of mass exeitment. The events of 1919 exactly repeated themselves in 1942. Railway stations and public offices were burnt, trains were stopped, in a few cases rails were removed—strangely enough without any loss of life, in 1942. Telegraph wires were cut, communications were paralysed, cities were isolated whole tracts of the country were sequestered, treasuries were looted, flags were hoisted on public buildings, in a few cases officers were murdered. Government was not over-

scrupulous in their reprisals. Houses were burnt, crowds were shot at and in five cases—three in Bengal, one in Bihar and one in Orissa - machine guns were fired from areoplanes—and unfortunately in one instance the fire was directed against a gang of innocent Railway workmen. It would take a volume, to describe the charges of atrocities and crimes levelled against each other by the people and the Government. Parliament met in September 1942 and endorsed the steps taken by the Government in India—Central and Provincial. Mr. Churchill took pains to argue that Congress represented nobody in this country. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, demanded of the Working Committee penitence in sack cloth and ashes: He urged, week in and week out, from the floor of the Commons and on the public platform, that Members of the Working Committee were to be treated as outlaws who could not be negotiated with, much less released, unless they tendered their unqualified apologies for their past misdemeanours, gave positive undertaking of present co-operation in war-effort and furnished suitable securities for their future good behaviour. A section of the Liberal and Labour Press repeatedly pressed upon British Government's attention towards the necessity for the release of Congress leaders and the opening of fresh negotiations

with the Congress, in British interests as much as in the interests of India. But the Rulers would not listen.

21 Days Fast

As things stood thus, Gandhi at the end of the first 6 months of his detention, went on a twenty-one day fast which, however, he declared was not a fast unto death, because he had no wish to die. This fast he began on the 10th February 1943—after writing about it to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow and to the Government of India. Lord Linlithgow exhibited unmitigated callousness when he charged Gandhi, with cowardice in that, having promulgated a campaign of bitter violence he was fleeing from the legitimate and inevitable consequences thereof by seeking a safe way of escape from them through death by fasting. How it is to be wished all cowards chose such a path of escape from the fruits of their misdeeds! Gandhi could not bear the strain of his fasting in the free and easy manner which had characterised his earlier fasts. This was the fourteenth fast in his life—and that at the age 73. His advancing years put too heavy a strain upon him during the fast to be borne with equanimity. The fast was variously appraised by various people. Britain and America, though

they watched the three critical weeks with tenseness and excitement, declared at the end that the fast had failed of its purpose. The fact however, was that they did not try to understand the real purpose of the fast which wasnot to bend Britain to terms with the congress. but to seek the only means of registering one's protest against the living death to which Gandhi was consigned, vindicating his honour and the honour of the Congress. The Fast ended on 3rd March 1943 and Government resumed their wonted ways of repression.

Weeks passed, so did months and even years There was no sign of the British conscience being moved to a sense of duty or to a sense of justice. Every year there was an occasion to discuss Indian affairs in the Commons, because Governors' Proclamations had to be renewed every year, Years in, and years out, the same old rhodomontade was repeated by the British politicians in regard to the necessity in India for reparations by the Congress. A section of the American Press was in sympathy with the Congress ideals and pressed for a reconsideration of British Policy. President Roosevelt's personal represenative, Mr. William Philips, sought an interview with Gandhi but was denied the same by the Government of India. His reports to Roosevelt, of which

portions saw the light of day later, showed how progressive were his views. But Britain had no use for such progressive politicians. Nor could Roosevelt play his full part in the drama in exposing the taint in the policy pursued by British Imperialism, for his own country was not free from a similar taint. China intervened on behalf of India but China's international position was so weak that she could not assert herself against a mighty Empire like that of Britain. Russia's voice, though not oft-repeated, was firm whenever it was heard but it was not able to assert itself very much. It has been stated—and the statement may be taken for what it is worth—that Cripp's proposals were inspired by American influence, while the later developments resulting in the Simla Conference owed their origin to Russian pressure.

As time advanced, Britain was not feeling quite happy over the deadlock created in India. She must have been fondly hoping that Indian politicians would show the white feather one day, but was bitterly disappointed over their firmness and persistence in their own ways. Mr. Amery, who took charge of the India Office on the tenth of May 1940 from Zetland and came into power simultaneously with Mr. Churchill who replaced Mr. Chamberlain, was never tired of suggesting that Indian politicians should by-

pass the Working Committee and reach independent conclusions in regard to their own future Constitution, which, he said must not be modelled after that of Britain, but take after those of America and Switzerland. What Mr. Amery emphasised was that India should not dabble in Responsible Government but that she should carry on, with fixed executives as in Washington and Geneva. Mr. Amery repeatedly exhorted those, who were outside the jails and the younger members of the Universities, to essay a new Constitution for India on lines indicated by him. There was, however, no response from India. Indians were adamant, except so far as the Muslim League was concerned, in demanding that the Working Committee of the Congress should be released and that negotiations should be renewed with the real national leaders. Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill and the whole brood of British politicians, whether they belonged to Conservative group or the Liberal Party or the Labour Section, equally dwelt upon one point, namely, that they were all prepared to surrender power in India but were non-plussed as to the person or set of persons into whose hands that power should be transferred. They wanted unanimity of views and vision in India regarding her future, not merely for the formation of a National

Government but in regard to the principles and methods of constituting the Constituent Assembly which was to hammer out the future Constitution.

Gandhi's very serious illness in the Aga Khan Palace in the month of May 1944 made inevitable his release which took place on 6th of May 1944. Gandhi lost no time thereafter in announcing that the Mass Civil Disobedience portion of the Resolution of the 8th August 1942, stood automatically cancelled because in 1944 he could not go back to 1942. At the same time he took care to emphasise the fact that the rest of the resolution, which represented the national demand, stood intact. In an interview that he granted to Mr. Gelder, the representative of the "News Chronicle" in India, he elucidated his conditions of a settlement but there was no response. Here in India Lord Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow, repeated the old, familiar British sentiments more or less and went to the length of suggesting in a letter, he addressed on 15th August 1944, to Gandhi on the eve of his talks with Jinnah (as then timed) that it was not enough if the League and the Congress joined hands and agreed, but that the agreement of the various important groups in the country should be simultaneously secured for any progress to be achieved. The failure of the Gandhi-

Jinnah talks,* which took place in September 1944, on the issue of Pakistan, added another forceful weapon to the British armoury of logic which strengthened their view that without unity in India no progress could possibly be contemplated.

It was immediately announced from London that Lord Wavell had expressed a desire as early as September 1944, to have personal conversation with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State on the Indian problem, but that the letter had persuaded him to postpone his visit to London to a later date. Apparently, the month of March 1945 was considered appropriate for the purpose. On the 14th June 1945 Lord Wavell after his return from London gave a broadcast in which he outlined the policy the British Government was determined to pursue and concluded the broadcast with the announcement that the members of the Working Committee were to be released forthwith.

Congress Movements In Brief

It has all along been the plan and purpose of the British Government to bypass the

*As every student of Indian politics knows these talks were held at the instance of C. R. and failed because of Mr. Jinnah's unreasonable attitude.

Congress and ignore the movement of Satyagraha. The movement contemplated in the A.I.C.C. Resolution of August 1942 was the fourth of the series of such movements initiated by that great body. At first in 1921, it was directed against the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Thirty thousand prisoners were taken and the Gandhi-Reading negotiations of December 1921 coupled with the Lytton-Das talks almost reached a point of fruition and failed only because of Gandhi's right insistence on the release of the Ali Brothers, a condition which was not acceptable to the Viceroy, although he assured that in respect of the personnel of the Round Table Conference then to be convened, the names of Ali Brothers might be given by the Congress so forcing the Government to release them. The second nationwide movement undertaken by the Congress was the Salt-Satyagraha in 1930 which ended in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931 (March 5th). The Bureaucracy was against the spirit of this agreement, and no sooner had it been signed than the permanent Civil Service took every possible step to go back upon the terms concluded in that Pact and helped Lord Willingdon to reverse the policy of Lord-Irwin, and to renew the policy of repression in 1932, 33 and 34. How in 1934 the Legislative Elections to the Central Assembly proved a

success of the Congress, has already been told. The third movement initiated by the Congress was in the year 1940-41 when no satisfactory reply was given regarding the objects of the war or their application to India. That was the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement started for the purpose of asserting the right of free speech in regard to India's participation in war-effort. The movement concluded in December 1941 and was followed by Cripps' visit to India Although the Cripps Mission failed to bring about any settlement, the very fact that Cripps had been sent to India by Mr. Churchill was in itself a recognition of the success of the Satyagraha movement of 1940-1941. After these three successes, express or implicit, Government obviously felt that it would be no longer wise or safe for them to allow further experiments in Satyagraha to be made in the arena of Indian politics and, come what may, they were, therefore, determined to ignore the Congress in regard to the movement of 1942-45. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Wavell were compelled to release the Members of the Working Committee on 15th June 1945 and open negotiations with the representatives of the various parties including the *outlawed* Congress for the formation of a National Government. (From *Sixty years of Congress.*)

Wavell-Offer of 1945

Lord Wavell in his broadcast speech from Delhi said :—

"I have been authorized by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation a d to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block, but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime India has great opportunities to be taken, the great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders, both

of Central and provincial politics, to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed under the existing constitution, but it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of the Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realize, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's foreign affairs Moreover, members will now be selected by the

Governor-General after consultation with political leaders, though their appointment will, of course, be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of Control: but it will, of course, not be exercised unreasonably.

I should like to make it clear that the formation of this Interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be :—

First to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the members of the Government think it possible: the means by which such agreement can be achieved.

The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

Simla Conference

A conference of leading politicians of the important Indian political parties was held at Simla. People looked forward, with keen expectancy, to a solution of the Indian deadlock. But that was not to be. Due to the intransigent attitude of Mr. Jinnah, the Qaide-Azam of the Muslims, the Simla Conference failed.

The Viceroy, speaking after the breakdown of the Conference, announced that new elections to the Central and the Provincial Legislatures will be held very soon.

Congress Stand

The Congress contested the elections on the "Quit India" issue. Below are given the highlights of the Manifesto issued by the Congress Working Committee on the eve of the elections :—

(1) The Congress stands for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India.

(2) It stands for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and good-will between them.

(3) It stands for full opportunties for people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genious.

(4) It stands for freedom of each group and territorial area to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework.

(5) It stands for the regrouping of provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis.

(6) It stands for rights of all those suffering from social tyranny and injustice, and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.

(7) The Congress envisages a free democratic state with fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in its constitution.

(8) The Congress stands for a federal constitution with a great deal of autonomy for its constituent units.

Economic Programme

(9) The Congress will tackle the most urgent and vital probelm of India, namely, the removal of the curse of poverty and raising

of the standard of life of the masses.

(10) The Congress stands for the modernization of industry, and agriculture and social control of all sources of wealth, methods of production and distribution so that India may grow into a co-operative commonwealth.

(11) In International affairs the Congress stands for the establishment of a federation of free nations.

(12) And the Congress will champion the cause of the freedom of all subject nations.

The election results showed that almost ninety five percent of Hindus were with the Congress while a great majority of the Moslems were with the Moslem League. In Bombay, Madras, U.P., C.P., Behar, Orissa, N. W. F. P. and Assam purely Congress ministries were formed while a Congress-coalition ministry assumed office in the Punjab. In Bengal and Sind Moslem League came into power.

At the end of 1945 a Goodwill Parliamentary Mission was sent to India, with Major Wyatt, Mr. Sorenson and Miss Nichol as its members. After studying conditions obtaning in the different parts of India the Mission submitted a report to the Parliament.

Soon after the return of the Goodwill

Mission in Britain, a declaration was made by the British Premier, Mr. Clement Atlee, that a Cabinet Mission, consisting of Lord Pathic Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexandar would visit India "with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible."

Salient points from
MR. ATLEES' SPEECH

On March 15, Mr. Atlee, the British Premier, stated in the House of Commons, in his speech, that it was for India to choose her own constitution and her place in the world. If she decided of her own free will to remain in the Commonwealth, good, if she decided on complete Independence it will be the duty of His Majesty's Government to bring about the transition as early as possible.

Mr. Atlee added whatever internal conflicts between Indians they were united that India should be " Free ".

" Britain " said Mr. Atlee, " will seek no advantage at the cost of India."

He concluded that the Three Cabinet Ministers leaving for India were determined to find a solution,

The Story in brief

The British Cabinet Delegation arrived in Karachi on March 23 and in Delhi on March 24. Till April 13 they met representatives of different political parties and interests. On

April 11 they issued a statement in which they said " The Mission are now proposing to enter on the next and most important phase of the negotiations. It is a phase which calls for the utmost efforts from tho leading statesmen of India, and from the Cabinet mission to arrive at a solution acceptable to all sides. "

On April 28 the Congress and Moslem League decided to accept the invitation of the Delegation to participate in a Tripartite Conference and appointed four members each for this purpose.

Letters were exchanged by the three parties which set out the principles and suggestedpoints of agreement put forward by the Cabinet Mission.

The conference, which opened on Sunday, May 5, came near breakdown on May 8. On that date Mr. Jinnah, in a letter to the Secretary of State said that no useful purpose would be served by discussing the points suggested by the Cabinet Mission. In a letter dated May 9, the Congress President stated that the Cabinet Mission's suggestions were not acceptable, and went on to suggest the formation of an interim provisional Government and reference to an independent tribunal of matters in dispute concerning the Constituent Assembly.

Meetings between Pandit Nehru and Mr.

Jinnah followed in letters concerning these meetings. Pandit Nehru disscussed the question of choosing a suitable umpire and said it would be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. He added that he and his colleagues had drawn up a list from which a choice could be made and he presumed that Mr. Jinnah had also prepared a list of possible umpires. Mr. Jinnah replied that in their meetings not only the fixing of an umpire but several other points were discussed and that no agreement was arrived at on any of them.

League Memorandum.

Memorandum by the President of the Muslim League embodying minimum demands by way of an offer in accordance with the Conference decision, dated 12th May, 1946. (Copies sent to the Cabinet Delegation and the Congrees).

Principles to be agreed to as our offer.

(1) The six Muslim provinces (Punjab, N.-W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except foreign affairs, defence, and communication necessary for defence, which may be dealt with by the constitution-making bodies of the two groups of provinces—Mus-

lim provinces (herein after named Pakistan group) and Hindu provinces—sitting together.

(2) There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim provinces named above which will frame constitution for the group and the provinces in the group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be provincial and central (or the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the provinces.

(3) The method of election of the representatives to the constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan Group.

(4) After the constitution of the Pakistan Federation Government and the provinces are finally framed by the constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the Group to decide to opt out of its group, provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

(5) It must be open to discussion in the joint constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance

should also be left for the decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

(6) There should be parity of representation between two groups of provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature if any.

(7) No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution making body unless the majority of the members of the constitution making body of the Hindu provinces and the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan group present and voting are separately in its favour.

(8) No decision legislative, executive or administrative shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths.

(9) In group and provincial constitutions fundamental rights and safe-guards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

(10) The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms

of the constitution and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

Congress Viewpoint

Points suggested on behalf of the Cnngress as a basis for agreement, 12th May 1946:

(1) The Constituent Assembly to beformed as follows:

(i) Representatives shall be elected by each provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote).

The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.

(ii) Representatives from the states on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

(2) The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislative dealing with foreign

affairs, defence, communications. fundamental rights, currency, customs and planning as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them.

The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself, the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

(3) All the remaining powers shall vest in the provinces or units.

(4) Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

(5) After the Constituent Assembly has decided the constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph two above, the representatives of the provinces may form groups to decide the provincialconstitutions for their group, and if they wish, a group constitution.

(6) No major point in the all-India Federal constitution, which affects the communal issue, shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided

that in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the speaker will decide, or if so desired it may be referred to the Federal Court

(7) In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution-making the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

(8) The constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

Note by the Congress on the principles to be agreed upon as suggested on behalf of the Muslim League, dated May 12, 1946.

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separtely without referance to the rest. The Picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly:—

(1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one constitution-making body or constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the provinces and if they wish to function as a group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own constitution for the purpose.

In any event Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

(2) We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the central subjects, vesting in the provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and as has been stated above, function as a group. What the ultimate nature of such a group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the provinces concerned.

(3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislatures. If the proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain

communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the provinces.

(4) There is no necessity for opting out of a province from its group as the previous consent of the provinces is necessary for joining the group.

(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue.

(6) and (7) We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of provinces in the Union Executive or Legislature. We think that no communal issue in Union constitution shall be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a minority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour. This is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities. That has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to difficulties in regard to small communities, but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its

nature that no Government or legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress, or indeed any movement in any direction. We, therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

Sardar Sant Singh's Memorandum

1. The Sikhs constitute a minority community in India, mostly residing in the Punjab. The community has innumerable inseparable connections with this Land of Five Rivers...The community cannot, afford to permit the vivisection of India into two or more parts. Such a division at the present moment will affect the community very adversely, especially when the background giving rise to this division is the Communal tension and the effort at communal domination by the Muslim majority. Any concession to Mr. Jinnah involving the principle of the acceptance of Pakistan would be regarded by the community as laying down the foundation stone of a civil strife in the country which strife will go on till Pakistan is undone and a united India emerges out of the strife. We stand for United India with a strong Central Government.

2. The Sikhs stand for complete independence of India which implies immediate withdrawal of British forces and creation of a full sovereign state, limited only by the International relations freely established and international obligations freely undertaken.

(3) The Nationalist Sikhs comprising (a) 99 per cent of the intelligentsia ; (b) An overwhelming majority in urban areas throughout India. (c) All literate and thinking population living in rural India, stand for abolition of separate electorate from the constitution of the country. We are aware that it will not be practicable politics to immediately go over to joint electorates with territorial constituencies. Therefore through the interregnum period we recommend the substitution of the separates electorates by joint ones with the reservation of seats for Muslims, Sikhs and other minorities. It is also necessary that this interregnum period should be fixed beforehand after the lapse of which joint electorates would automatically follow.

4. For an interim period during which the New constitution for India is being carved out by a constitution making body the community stands for an immediate constitution of a National Government at the Centre.

It will be most desirable that all elements

Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs Christians, Anglo-Indians, Depressed classes and others participate in this interim National Government. In order to allay the reasonable fears of the Muslim community against the Hindu domination at the Centre, it will be reasonable to grant the Muslims, during the interim period, parity of representation with the Hindus other than Scheduled castes both in the Cabinet and the Central legislature. The same principle of parity of representation may be guaranteed to the Muslims in the new constitution, provided :—

(i) The Muslim community agree to forego separate electorates and replace the same by joint electorates with the reservation of seats.

(ii) The seats thus taken away from the Hindus in the Central Lagislature, after a definite number has been allotted to the Hindus other than depressed classes and the Muslims, be distributed fairly between the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and Depressed classes. Such a course will make the representation of the last named interests in the Central Legislature more real and effective. Future constitution on these lines will go, in practice, a long way to assure such interests of their well-being and thus will ultimately result in establishing harmonious

relations between all interests.

5. Further protection of interests of the minorities can be safeguarded by embodying certain fundamental rights in the constitution which no legislature or executive authority could violate. In case of such violation of any of such rights any individual should have the right to move the suitable machinery provided for that purpose whose decision should be binding both on the legislature and the executive.

6. It would be of vital importance for the success of the National Government that for the first few years the new Government should avoid all subjects which are likely to raise Communal controversies. In this connection I will particularly refer to the subject of de-limitation of provinces. I would, suggest that the delimitation of provinces should not be regarded as an urgent problem.

7. The Punjab has been the hot bed of politics in the past. Unlike other provinces of India three well-defined communities viz Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, who are equally strong and politically important live in this province. All three have been contending for political power. In order to make the province contented with a strong executive authority, parity of representation to all the three, both in its cabinet and

legislature, be guaranteed. The case of the Sikhs and Hindus for parity in the cabinet and legislature is unanswerable if and when the same parity is conceded to Muslims in the Centre. The Sikh community stands for the provision of such a parity for all the three communities in the province of the Punjab.

If there be no agreement between the Congress and the League even then the Sikhs, would ask the Mission to go ahead in fulilling their pledge of making India completely independent of the British control.

Points from Christian Leaders Memorandum

(1) We wish to make it clear to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation that we are in no way behind any political or religious body in our keen desire for a free and fully self-governing India in the very near future. Though we have separate organisations of our own, we neither profess nor wish to be a separate political party. Members of Indian Christian Association in fact belong to different political parties, including the Indian National Congress and the National Liberal Federation. Our main position in political matters has been increasingly identical with the views of the nationalist school of thought. While we desire the immediate grant of full self-government, we hope that friendly relations and

co-operation will exist between a free India and Great Britain on terms of equality and reciprocity to their mutual advantage. In this connection we hope and believe that the British Government, the Viceroy and the British Cabinet Delegation are genuinely anxious to see a self-governing India in the immediate future.

(2) Indian Christians ask for no special political privileges for their community in the India of the future. They are ready to accept joint electorates in the legislatures and public local bodies with or without reservation of seats and to agree to appointments by Government or local bodies being made on the basis of merit alone. If, however, in making constitutional changes or in setting up machinery for evolving a constitution, recognition is given to the separate existence as political entities of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and other communities, the rights of Indian Christians should be similarly recognized.

(3) Indian Christians desire that the future India should be a united India. But with a view to meet the legitimate claims of the Muslim community large powers should be vested in the provinces. Further, there should be full safeguards for minorities and adequate machinery, *e.g.*, the courts of law for making them effective. Central and

Provincial Minorities Commissions should also be created as proposed by the Sapru Committee. We deplore the present communal cleavage and have been, and always will be, ready to place our services both individually and collectively at the disposal of all who favour communal harmony.

A central interim Government should be formed immediately.

(4) We connot conclude this expression of our views without stating with all the emphasis at our command that the immediate settlement of the Indian political problem is vital to India, Great Britain and the world.

—Submitted by a delegation consisted of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh Mr. Ruthnaswami and Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram.

Tripartite Conference Correpondence

I

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah, dated 27th April, 1946 :—

The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have carefully reviewed the opinions expressed to them by the various representatives they have interviewed and have come to the conclusion that they should make one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

They realise that it would be useless to ask the two parties to meet unless they were able to place before them a basis of negotiation which could lead to such an agreement.

I am, therefore, asked to invite the Muslim League to send four negotiators to meet the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, together with a similar number from the Congress Working Committee with a view to discussing the possibility of agreement upon a scheme based upon the following fundamental principles:—

The future constitutional structure of British India to be as follows:—

A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects except those which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights.

It is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with

them.

I would point out that we do not think it either necessary or desirable further to elaborate these principles as all other matters could be dealt with in the course of the negotiations.

If the Muslim League and the Congress are prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, you will perhaps be so good as to let me know the names of the four people appointed to negotiate on their behalf. As soon as I receive these I will let you know the locus of the negotiations which will in all probability be in Simla, where the climate will be more temperate.

II

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick Lawrence, dated 28th April, 1946 :—

I thank you for your letter of April 27ht. I have consulted my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the suggestion made by you, and they desire me to inform you that they have always been willing to discuss fully any matters concerning the future of India with representatives of the Muslim League or any other organisation. I must point out, however, that the "fundamental principles" which you mention require amplification and elucidation in order to

avoid any misunderstanding.

As you are aware, we have envisaged a federal union of autonomous units. Such a federal union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer.

Among the common subjects in addition to foreign affairs, defence, and communications, there should be currency, customs, tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be initimately allied to them.

Your reference to two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, is not clear. The only predominantly Muslim provinces are the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Bengal and Punjab have a bare Muslim majority. We consider it wrong to form groups of provinces under the Federal Union and more so on religious or communal basis. Ita lso appears that you leave no choice to a province

in the matter of joining or not joining a group. It is by no means certain that a province as constituted would like to join any particular group. In any event, it would be wholly wrong to compel a province to function against its own wish. While we agree to the provinces having full powers in regard to all remaining subjects as well as the residuary powers, we have also stated that it should be open to any province to exercise its option to have more common subjects with the Federal Union. Any sub-federation within the Federal Union would weaken the Federal Centre and would be otherwise wrong. We do not, therefore, favour any such development.

Regarding the Indian States we should like to make it clear that we consider it essential that they should be parts of the Federal Union in regard to common subjects mentioned above ; the manner of their coming into the Union can be considered fully later.

You have referred to certain " fundamental principles " but there is no mention of the basic issues before us, that is, Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India. It is only on this basis that we can discuss the future of India, or any interim arrangement.

While we are ready to carry on negotiations with any party as to the future of India,

we must state our convictions that reality will be absent from any negotiations whilst an outside ruling Power still exists in India.

I have asked three of my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee, namely, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accompany me in any negotiations.......

The basic issue before us was that of Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India, for there can be no independence of the whole of India now and not in the distant or near future. Other matters are subsidiary to this and can be fully discussed and decided by the Constituent Assembly.

At the conference yesterday I referred to this again and we were glad to find that you and your colleagues, as well as the other members of the conference, accepted Indian Independence as the basis of our talks. It was stated by you that the Constituent Assembly would finally decide about the nexus or other relationship that might be established between a free India and England. While this is perfectly true, it does not affect the position now, and that is the acceptance of Indian independence now.

If that is so, then certain consequences inevitably follow. We felt yesterday that

there was no appreciation of these consequences. A Constituent Assembly is not going to decide the question of independence ; that question must be and, we take it, has been decided now. That Assembly will represent will of the free Indian nation and give effect to it. It is not going to be bound by by any previous arrangements. It has to be preceded by a provisional government which must function, as far as possible, as a government of free India, and which should undertake to make all arrangements for the transitional period.

The method of grouping has not so far been discussed by us but still our talks seemed to presume all this. I should like to make it very clear that we are entirely opposed to any executive or legislative machinery for a group of provinces or units of the federation. That will mean a subfederation, if not something more, and we have already told you that we do not accept this. It would result in creating three layers of executive and legislative bodies, an arrangement which will be cumbrous, static and disjointed, leading to continuous friction. We are not aware of any such arrangement in any country.

We are emphatically of opinion that it is not open to the conference to entertain any

suggestions for a division of India. If this is to come, it should come through the Constituent Assembly, free from any influence of the present Governing Power.

Another point we wish to make clear is that we do not accept the proposal for parity as between groups in regard to the Executive or Legislature. We realise that everything possible should be done to remove fears and suspicions from the mind of every group and community. But the way to do this is not by unreal methods which go against the basic principles of democracy on which we hope to build up our constitution.

III

Points for Agreement

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Muslim League and the Congress, dated 8th May, 1946 :—

My colleagues and I have been thinking over the best method of laying before the conference what in our judgment seems the most likely basis of agreement as shown by the deliberations so far.

We have come to the conclusion that it will be for the convenience of the parties if we commit this to writing and send them confidential copies before the conference meets again.

We hope to be in a position to let you have this in the course of the morning. But as this will give you too short a time to study it adequately before the proposed resumption of the conference at three o'clock this after noon, I feel sure that you will agree that the meeting be postponed until the same hour (three o'clock) tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, 9th May, and I hope that you will concur in this change of time which we are convinced is in the interests of all parties.

Letter from the Private Secretary to Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League dated 8th May, 1946 :—

With reference to the Secretary of State's letter to you this morning, the Cabinet Delegation wish me to send to you the enclosed document which is the paper to which the Secretary of State referred. The Delegation propose that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if that is agreeable to the Congress-Muslim League delegates.

Enclosure with letter of 8th May :—

Suggested points for agreement between the representatives of Congress and the Muslim League :—

1. There shall be an all-India Union Government and legislature dealing with foreign affairs, defence, communications,

fundamental rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances required for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in provinces.

3. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

4. The groups may set up their own executives and legislatures.

5. The legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim majority provinces and from the Hindu-majority provinces, whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into groups ; together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any province can by a majority vote of its legislative assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsideration,

a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original Constituent Assembly and with the same provisions as to voting and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis shall be as follows :—

(A) Representatives shall be elected from each provincial Assembly in proportion to the strengths of the various parties in that Assembly on the basis of 1/10th of their numbers.

(B) Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.

(C) The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.

(D) After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled, it wlll divide into three sections ; one section representing the Hindu-majority provinces, one section representing the Muslim majority provinces and one representing the States.

(E) The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the provincial constitutions for their groups and, if they wish, a group constitution.

(F) When these have been settled, it will be open to any province to decide to opt out of its original group and into the other group or to remain outside any group.

(G) Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1-7 above.

(H) No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of both the two major communities vote in its favour.

9. The Viceroy shall forthwith call together the above constitution-making machinery which shall be governed by the provisions dilated in paragraph 8 above.

IV

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 8th May, 1946:—

I have now received the letter of your Private Secretary, dated 8th May, 1946, and the enclosed document to which you had referred in your earlier letter of 8th May, 1946. It is proposed by you that this "paper" be discussed at the next meeting of the conference to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if this is agreeable to the Muslim

League delegation.

Your proposal embodied in your letter of 27th April, 1946, runs as follows :—

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign affairs, defence and communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The provisional governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights."

This matter was to be discussed at Simla and we agreed to attend the conference on Sunday, 5th May, 1946, on the terms of my letter, dated 28th April 1946.

You were good enough to explain your formula and then after hours of discussion on the 5th and 6th of May, the Congress finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects, even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union.

Next, your formula clearly envisaged an agreement precedent between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the grouping of Muslim and Hindu provinces and

the formation of two federations of the grouped provinces and it followed that there must be two constitution making machineries. It was on that basis that some kind of Union was suggested in your formula confined only to three subjects and our approval was sought in order to put into this skeleton blood and flesh. This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress and the meeting had to be adjourned for the Mission to consider the matter further as to what steps they may take in the matter.

And now the new enclosed document has been sent to us with a view that "this paper" should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. The heading of the paper is: "Suggested points for agreement between the representatives of Congress and the Muslim League." By whom are they suggested, it is not made clear.

We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from the original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress-

To mention some of the important points, we are now asked to agree that there should be one all-India Union Government in terms of paragraph 7 of this paper, which adds one more subject to be vested in the Union

Government, *i.e.*, "fundamental rights" and it is not made clear whether the Union Government and Legislature will have power or not to obtain for itself the finances by means of taxation.

In the new "suggestions" the question of grouping of provinces is left exactly as the Congress spokesmen desired in the course of discussions that have taken place hitherto, and is totally different from your original formula.

That there should be a single constitution-making body, we can never agree to: nor can we agree to the method of formation of constitution-making machineries suggested in the paper.

There are many other objectionable features contained in the suggestions which we have not dealt with as we are only dealing with the main points arising out of this paper.

In these circumstances, we think no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper, as it is a complete departure from your original formula, unless, after what we have said above, you still desire us to discuss it in the conference itself tomorrow.

V

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League, dated

9th May, 1946 :—

I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday which I have shown to my colleagues. In it you raise a number of issues to which I propose to reply in order.

1. You claim that Congress "finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects, even with power to levy contribution for financing the "Union". This statement is not in accord with my recollection of what took place in the conference room. It is true that the Congress representatives expressed their view that the limitation was too narrow and argued further that even so limited it necessarily included certain auxiliary matters. Up to a point you recognised that there was some force in the argument because you agreed, as I understood, that some power to obtain the necessary finance must be given. There was no final decision on this matter (or of course on any other.)

2. Next, you claim, if I understand you aright, that our reference to the formation of groups is at variance with the formula in our invitation. I am afraid I cannot accept this view. It is, of course, a slightly amplified form because it specifies the manner in which the provinces can decide as to joining any particular group. This amplified form is put forward by us as a reasonable compromise

between the views of the Muslim League and those originally expressed by Congress.

3. You further take exception to the machinery that we suggest should be set up for making the constitution. I would point out to you, however, that you yourself in explaining how your two constitution-making bodies would work agreed on Tuesday last in the conference that they would have to join together in the end to decide the constitution of the Union and you took no exception to their having a preliminary session in common to decide procedure. What we are proposing is, in fact, precisely the same thing expressed in different words. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to understand what you have in mind when you use the words : "This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress."

4. In your next succeeding paragraph you ask who it is that makes the suggestions that are contained in the document sent to you. The answer is the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy, who makes them in our endeavour to bridge the gap between the viewpoints of the Congress and the Muslim League.

5. You next take exception to our departing from the original formula in my invitation. I would remind you that in

accepting my original invitation neither the Muslim League nor the Congress bound itself to accept in full the original formula, and in my reply of April 29th I worte these words :

"We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it." Indeed this is the only sensible attitude because the object of all our discussions is to explore every conceivable possibility of reaching agreement.

(6) Fundamental rights " were included by us in our suggestion for addition to the list of union subjects because it seemed to us that it would be of benefit both to the large communities and to the small minorities for them to be put in and accordingly to be worthy of consideration in our conference. As to finance, it will, of course, be quite open to discuss in the conferene the precise significance of the inclusion of this word in its context.

(7) Your two following paragraphs are mainly a recapitulation of your previous

arguments and have been already dealt with above.

From your last paragraph I understand that though you do not consider in the circumstances that any good purpose would be served by the attendance of the Muslim League dalegation at the conference fixed for this afternoon you are willing to come if we express a desire that you should do so. My colleagues and I wish to obtain the views of both parties on the document submitted and, therefore, would be glad to see you at the conference.

Congress Letter to Pethick Lawrence

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated May 9, 1946:

My colleagues and I have given the most careful consideration to the memorandum sent by you yesterday suggesting various points of agreemant. On the 28th April I sent you a letter in which I explained briefly the Congress viewpoint in regard to certain "fundamental principles" mentioned in your letter of the 27th April. After the first day of the Conference on May 6th I wrote to you agan to avoid any possible misunderstanding regarding the issues being discussed in the conference.

I now find from your memorandum that some of your suggestions are entirely opposed to our views and to the views repeatedly declared by the Congress. We are thus placed in a difficult position. It has been and is our desire to explore every avenue for a settlement and a changeover in India by consent and for this purpose we are prepared to go far. But there are obvious limits beyond which we cannot go if we are convinced that this would be injurious to the people of India and to India's progress as a free nation.

In my previous letters I have laid stress on the necessity of having a strong and organic Federal Union. I have also stated that we do not approve of sub-federations or grouping of provinces in the manner suggested, and are wholly opposed to parity in executives or legislatures as between wholly unequal groups. We do not wish to come in the way of provinces or other units co-operating together if they choose but those must be entirely optional.

The proposals you have put forward are meant, we presume, to limit the free discretion of the Constituent Assembly. We do not see how this can be done. We are at present concerned with one important aspect of a larger problem. Any decision on this aspect

taken now might well conflict with the decisions we or the Constituent Assembly might want to take on other aspects. The only reasonable course appears to us is to have a Constituent Assembly with perfect freedom to draw up its constitution with certain reservations to protect the rights of minorities. Thus we may agree that any major communal issue must be settled by consent of the parties concerned or where such consent is not obtained by arbitration.

From the proposals you have sent us (8 D. E. F. G.) it would appear that two or three separate constitutions might emerge for separate groups joined together by a flimsy common superstructure left to the mercy of the three disjointed groups.

There is also compulsion in the early stages for a province to join a particular group whether it wants to or not. Thus why should the Frontier Province, which is clearly a Congress province, be compelled to join any group hostile to the Congress.

We realise that in dealing with human beings as individuals or groups many considerations have to be borne in mind besides logic and reason. But logic and reason cannot be ignored altogether and unreason and injustice are dangerous companions at any time and more especially when we are

building for the future of hundreds of mllions human beings.

I shall now deal with some of the points in your memorandum to make some suggestions in regard to them.

No. 1. We note that you have provided for the Union to have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for the subjects it deals with. We think it should be clearly stated that the Federal Union must have power to raise trevenues in its own right. Further that currency and customs must in any event be inclueded in the Union subjects, as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them. One other subject is an essential and inevitable union subject and that is planning. Planning can only be done effectively at the Centre, though the provinces or units will give effect to it in their respective areas.

The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

Nos, 5. and 6 – We are entirely opposed to the proposed parity, both in the Executive and Legislature, as between wholly unequal groups. This is unfair and will lead to truble. Such a provision contains in itself the seed of conflict and the destruction of free growth. If there is no agreement on this or any similar

matter, we are prepared to leave it to arbit tration.

No. 7.—We are prepared to accept the suggestion that provision be made for a reconsideration of the constitution after ten years. Indeed the constitution will necessarily provide the machinery for its revision at any time.

The second clause lays down that reconsideration should be done by a body constituted on the same basis as the Constituent Assembly. This present provision is intended to meet an emergency. We expect that the constitution for India will be based on adult suffrage to express its mind on all grave issues.

No. 8 - (A) We would suggest that the just and proper method of elections fair to all parties is the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote. It might be remembered that the present basis of election for the provincial Assemblies is strongly weighed in favour of the minorities.

The proportion of one-tenth appears to be too small and will limit the numbers of the Constituent Assembly too much. Probably the number would not exceed two-hundred. In the vitally important tasks the Assembly will have to face, it should have larger numbers. We suggest that at least

one-fifth of the total membership of the provincial Assemblies should be elected for the Constituent Assembly.

(B) This clause is vague and requires elucidation. But for present we are not going into further details.

No. 8—(D.E.F.G.) : I have already referred to these clauses. We think that both the formation of these groups and the procedure suggested are wrong and undesirable. We do not wish to rule out the formation of the groups if the provinces so desire. But this subject must be left open for decision by the Constituent Assembly. The drafting and settling of the constitution should begin with the Federal Union. This should contain common and uniform provisions for the provinces and other units. The provinces may then add to these.

No. 8 (H.) In the circumstances existing to-day we are prepared to accept some clauses In case of disagreement the matter should be referred to arbitration.

I have pointed out above some of the obvious defects as we see them in the proposals contained in your memorandum. If these are remedied as suggested by us we might be in a position to recommend their acceptance by the Congress. But as drafted in the memorandum sent to us, I regret that we are

unable to accept them.

On the whole, therefore, if the suggestions are intended to have a binding effect with all the will in the world to have an agreement with the League, we must repudiate most of them. Let us not run into any evil greater than the one all of us three parties should seek to avoid.

If an agreement honourable to both the parties and favourable to the growth of free and united India cannot be achieved we would suggest that an interim provisional Government responsible to the elected members of the Central Assembly be formed at once and the matters in dispute concerning the Constituent Assembly between the Congress and the League be referred to an independent tribunal.

After a proposal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that an umpire should be appointed to settle matters of difference between the parties, the conference, understanding that there was a likelihood of agreement on an umpire between the parties, was adjourned and the following correspondence passed between the parties.

VII

Pt. Nehru's Letter.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharial Nehru to

the President of the Muslim League, dated May 9, 1946.

In accordance with our decision yesterday at the conference my colleagues have given a good deal of thought to the choice of a suitable umpire. We have felt that it would probably be desirable to exclude Englishmen. Hindus Muslims and Sikhs. The field is thus limited. Nevertheless was have drawn up a considerable list from which a choice can be made. I presume that you have also, in consultation with your Executive, prepared a list of possible umpires. Would you like these two lists to be considered by us, that is by you and me? If so, we can fix up a meeting for the purpose. After we have met our recommendation can be considered by the eight of us, that is four representatives of the Congress and the four representatives of the Muslim League and a final choice can be made which we can place before the conference when it meets to-morrow.

VIII

Mr. Jinnah's Reply.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 10, 1946.

I received your letter of 10th May at 6 p. m. At yesterday's meeting between you and me at the Viceregal Lodge we discussed

several points besides the fixing of an umpire. After a short discussion we came to the conclusion that we will further examine the proposal made by you at the conference yesterday with all its implications after the and my consulting our respective colleagues.

I shall be glad to meet you to consider the various aspects of your proposal any time that may suit you to-morrow morning after 10 o'clock.

IX

Pt. Nehru's Another Letter

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of the Muslims League, dated May 11 1946.

Your letter of May 10th reached me at 10 last night.

During the talk we had at Viceregal Lodge you referred to various matters besides the choice of an umpire and I gave you my reactions in regard to them. But I was under the impression that the proposal to have an umpire had been agreed to and our next business was to suggest names. Indeed it was when some such agreement was reached in the conference that we had our talk. My colleagues have proceeded on this basis and prepared a list of suitable names. The conference will expect us to tell them this afternoon the name of the umpire we fix upon or

at any rate to place before them suggestions in this behalf.

The chief implication in having an umpire is to agree to accept his final decision. We agree to this. We suggest that we might start with this and report accordingly to the conference.

As suggested by you I shall come over to your place of residence at about 10-30 this morning.

X

League Leader's Reply.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 11, 1246 :

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May, 1946.

During the talk we had at the Viceregal Lodge which lasted for about 15 or 20 minutes I pointed out various aspects and implications of your proposal and we had a discussion for a little while, but no agreement was arrived at between you and me on any point except that at your suggestion that you consult your colleagues and I should do like-wise we adjourned to meet again the next day to further discuss the matter.

I shall be glad to meet you at 10-30 this morning for a further talk.

Cabinet Mission's Proposals

The following is the full text of the statment issued by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy:—

I. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What from of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; lut our desire is to help her in set up forth with the machinery for makihg that decision"

" I hope that India and her people may elect to ramain within the British Commonweath. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so".

" But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound togethar by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples-, If. on the other hand she eleet for

independence. in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible. "

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no aggreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty proved to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possiple to ensure a speedy proved setting up of the new constitution This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements sheuld be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Govrnment may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such

time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submited to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of india, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they shonld find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards, If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures wnich will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We, therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures taken from the recent census taken in 1941 shows:—

North-Western Area:—

	Muslim	Non-Muslim.
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier		

N·W.F.P.	2,788,797	249.270
Sind	3, 208,325	1, 326,633
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62.07%	37.93%
	North Wastern Area:	
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762.254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

Pakistan Impracticable

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a

smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large parts of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India

have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Foce would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable forntiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of the Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign

States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomanes. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difflculty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which

their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion. Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous power in a particular way.

Indian States

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian State to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new

constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and paracticable form of constitution for all-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form :—

(1) There should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States represenatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representative present and voting of each af the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay on the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making Machinery.

Constitution-making Machinery

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18 In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad based and accuater a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based onadult franchise ; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the erecting bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal, with a population six times as large has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their

numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 40 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(*a*) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for represntation by adult suffrage

(*b*) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion of their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Musilm, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph

20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote :—

Table of Representation

Section A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces ...	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces ...	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Section B.

Province	General	Muslim.	Sikh.	Total
Punjab ...	8	16	4	28
N.W.F.P	0	3	0	3
Sind ...	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

Section C.

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India			292
Maximum for Indian States			93
Total			385

Note:—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legistative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

(*i*) To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(*ii*) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 23, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(*iii*) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(*iv*) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities. and tribal and excluded areas set up, There-after the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A.B. and C. in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(*v*) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(*vi*) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian states shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(*vii*) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The chairman of the Assembly shall decide

which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constiutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial legislatures to proceed with the selection of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly

as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constiution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including

that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India, who now have the opportunity of complete independence, we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen ; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own country men and the world as a whole.

Appeal to Indians

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interest of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly associa-

tion with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world; and to a future even more glorious than your past.

INFORMATION PLEASE !

Important dates of British Raj in India

1498. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut 20th May.
1600. Foundation of East India Co.
1661. English get Bombay as part of dowry of Catherine of Braganza.
1690. English found Calcutta.
1757. Battle of Plassey establishes British Raj in Bengal.
1774. Warren Hastings becomes first Governor-General.
1780. First English newspaper Hickey's Gazette started in Calcutta.
1784. Pitt's act establishes Board of control.
1793. 'Permanent Settlement' of Bengal.
1827. Right to sit as jurors was extended to Indians.
1832. Macaulay's minute (beginning of English education).
1854. Electric Telegraph introduced in India, 23rd March.
1857-58. Sepoy Mutiny.
1858. E. I. Co. dissolved ; Government of India transferred to British Crown.
1858. Queen's Proclamation.
1862. July 12, High Court of Calcutta was inaugurated.
1862. Indian Civil Service Act, Indian High Court Act, and Indian Councils Act

passed by Parliament.

1877. Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.

1885. Indian National Congress established on 28th December.

1905. Partition of Bengal (rise of militant nationalism).

1909. Minto Morley Reforms.

1912. Transfer of seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi.

1917. Declaration of Secretary of State promising responsible Government in India.

1918. Montague-Chelmsford Report.

1919. Rowlatt Act passed; Amritsar Tragedy (13th April)

1920. Hunter Commission's Report; Nov. 16, Election to New Legislature: Aug. 1, Inaugeration of Non-co-operation Movement by Gandhiji.

1921. Inauguration of Central Assembly and Princes Chamber by Duke of Connaught (Feb. 9)

1921. Moplah Rebellion.

1925. Reforms Enquiry Committee's Report.

1927. Appointment of Simon Commission.

1928. Report of Indian States (Butler) Committee.

1929. October 31 Announcement by Lord Irwin on Dominion Status.

1930. Simon Commisions Report; Civil Disobedience movement launched by Congress; Rebellion in Burma. Round Table Conference. (First Session Nov. 12).
1931. Gandhi Irwin Pact (March 4) Round Table Conference (Second session)
1932. Round Table Conference (third session)
1934. Reserve Bank Act passed: Royal Indian Navy inaugurated.
1935. August 2 Government of India Act.
1937. Provincial Autonomy inaugurated.
1939. September 11. Viceroy's announcement of suspension of Federation for duration of war.
1940. Linlithgow's speech on Dominion Status objective for India.
1941. Sept 9. Churchill's denial of applicapalibity of Atlantic Charter in India.
1942. March 11. Announcement of the Cripps Mission.
1942. 'Quit India' movement suppressed.
1943. Government shows its inability to arrange food for starving millions in Bengal.
1945. December 19.Parliamentary Delegation announced.
1946. Naval Mutiny.
1946. Cabinet Mission announced (Feb. 19.)

1946. March 15. Mr. Attlee's statement on India Policy.
1946. May 16 Cabinet Missions Award Announced.
1946. June 7. Moslem League accepts Mission Proposals.

Important dates in the History of Indian National Congress.

1885. Establishment of the Congress by A. O. Hume. First session (Dec. 1885.)
1907. Split in the ranks of the Congress.
1919. Moderates separated from Congress.
1920. Mahatma Gandhi Joined Congress ; First Civil Disobedience (March 19).
1921. Four annas membership of the Congress first introduced.
1922. Chauri Chaura outrage.
1923. Swaraj Party enters central Legislature for working the reforms.
1927. Congress declares its goal as Puran Swarajya.
1928. Congress agreed to accept Dominion Status if given before the end of 1929.
1929. Congress passes Puran Swaraj Resolution.
1930. Civil Disobedience Movement launched.
1932. Congress declared unlawful by the Government.

1935. Congress celebrates Golden Jubilee.
1937. Congress Ministries in seven out of eleven Indian provinces.
1939. Congress ministries resign.
1940. Congress rejects viceroy's August offer of expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council and drawing up of a new constitution after the end of war.
1940. Congress starts Anti-war Individual Civil Disobedience movement; Demand for Puran Swarajya.
1942. Congress rejects Cripps proposal of Dominion Status. A. I. C. C. passed 'Quit India' resolution on 8th August 1942. The Government launched full measures to suppress 'Quit India' movement.
1945. Congress participates in Simla Conference.
1946. Congress participates in Second Simla Conference.

History of Pakistan

The idea of partition of India was first suggested by the famous Moslem poet Sir Mohammad Iqbal who as a president of the All India Moslem League Session at Allahabad in 1930 said "I would like to see the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province, Sind and Balauchistan amalgamated

into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Moslem State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Moslems at least of North-West India."

In 1933, at the time of Round Table Conference a party of Moslem students in England, Mohd. Aslam Khan, Rahmat Ali, Sheikh Mohd. Sadiq and Inayatullah Khan issued a leaflet entitled 'Now or Never' in which they used the word Pakistan for the first time—"on behalf of our thirty million Moslem brethren who live in Pakistan by which we mean the five northern units of India-*viz*. Punjab, North-West Frontier Province Afghan Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan" they protested against the federal constitution of India and demanded the creation of Moslem separate state. Their Pakstan was ultimately changed into Pakistan, to mean the land of the pure. Mr. Rahamat Ali in 1935 further lucidated his Pakistan scheme in another leaflet styling himself as the founder of the Pakistan National Movement. In this leaflet the original Pakistan was extended beyond North-west of India, *i.e.*, Bengal with its hinterland of Assam and State of Hyderabad.

A further proposal came from Dr. Syed

Abdul Latif, a prominent Moslem leader of Hyderabad (Deccan), in 1938 and 1939. He contended that though India was not a 'composite nation' and federal provision of the Act of 1935 was out of the question, yet partition was not a necessary or a desirable altenative. India could and should remain united, provided its unity were based on a system of free and homogeneous nationalities, each possessing a geographical home which it could call its own. So Dr. Latif outlined a provisional division of India into "cultural zones'—Four Moslem and eleven Hindu. The Indian States interpersed all over the country, may be distributed between the different zones in accordance with their natural affinities. Each zone will form a homogeneous state with a highly decentralised form of government within, but fitting along with similar state into an all-India Federation.

Finally, All India Moslem League, in its session at Lahore in 1940, passed the following resolution - "Resolved that it is tha considered view of this session of the All-India Moslem League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principles *viz.* the geographically contignous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial read just-

ments, as may be necessary that the areas in which the Moslems are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. (also see "Jinnah")

MEET THE LEADERS

Lord Pethick Lawrence

Aging but alert, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the India Secretary of State is a man recognised as a lifetime sympathizer in the cause of Indian self-government.

Lord Pethick Lawrence's life is one long unfinished chapter of achievements. And his autobiography, "Fate has been kind" published last year is regarded as important in the story of the history of this period.

Always one to champion what might seem a losing cause, it has been said frequently of the India Secretary, that no one familiar with his life could accuse him of self-interest.

His interest in India goes back to his youth, and his sympathy with the cause of Indian self-goverment is decribed by the "Manchester Guardian" as being life long.

He opposed A. T. S. postings overseas on the grounds that "there are other dangers than enemy action." He warned Mr. Churchill about Greece. "Will the Premier take care that the Government watches its step in the matter, so that its action in suppressing disorder shall not take the form of supporting any one faction in Greece ?" he asked in Commons.

He opposed the Tory Government white paper on unemployment, assailing the proposals as "nebulous." "We remain convinced," he said on behalf of his party, "that under a system largely of private enterprise, unemployment could be completely cured."

Author of several books on Economic and social reform, Pethick Lawrence criticised the Tory Government on the future of the services and their plans for post-war reconstruction. "Talk about employment for everybody, but there is no suggestion about the expanding economy that would make it possible. Talk about social insurance, but there is no indication of implementing the Beveridge Report, no proposals for the development of the human resources of the Commonwealth," he declared.

He took a leading part in the movement of votes for women and in 1912 courted nine months' imprisonment for conspiracy in connection with one of the militant demonstrations of women Suffragettes. When his newspaper, "the Echo." ceased publication he paid the staff and creditors out of his own pocket.

Short and somewhat stocky, the Secretary of State has a slight stoop. On his face are the signs of age. His utterances express genuine feeling and humanity. His thinking is remarkably clear.

When dealing with India at his conferences, he gives the impression of a blue-eyed Englishman soaked in an unaggressive philosophy of non-violence. Often he is to be found at his home in Lincoln's Inn in the heart of London. But on occassion when he spends his week-ends in the country, he is sometimes seen in the village queue, where he does his own shopping. And then he goes home to prepare a choice dish, for India's Secretary of State is a fine cook.

In his younger days he played a strenuous game of tennis and was also a fine billards player.

Sir Stafford Cripps.

Sir Stafford Cripps' political life at least has given evidence of running in alternating streaks of popularity and disfavour.

This 57-year-old lawyer's work as British Ambassador to Soviet Russia was as much appreciated as his present presidentship of the Board of Trade is disliked by rank and file British businessmen.

At the end of his first mission in 1942, Cripps broadcast to the world : "We offered everything we could. There was nothing more to offer."

To this Pandit Nehru answered : "The cause of failure was that the Congress thought

in terms of a National Government under an Indian leader, and the British Government and Cripps in terms of a Viceroy and an Executive Council."

As President of the Board of Trade, he has been speaking on various subjects to various people. Addressing the Marriage Guidance Council, he said, "Love in a cottage is all very well, provided the roof does not leak, and the rooms are not rat-ridden. But love on the dole is a very different matter."

On divorce: "The size of our divorce lists is the magnitude of our failure as a community to help our young people to understand and appreciate the true basis of married life." This from a man who has been married 35 years, has one son and three daughters.

Like Lord Pethick Lawrence he has also written a number of books, including "The struggle for peace" and "Democracy up to date."

Tall, lanky and of serious countenance Sir Stafford when he chooses, can pose a most engaging smile. His rimless glasses on his sensitive nose rather accentuate his features, and always give the impression of meticulous grooming, except when he is engaged in Cabinet meetings or in the house.

His love of science is well known. He is a vegetarian.

An old friend of Pandit Nehru, this friendship seemed in danger when Cripps went out to India on his 1942 mission,

He met strong opposition from Mahatma Gandhi who did not take kindly to Cripps, when the negotiations reached a deadlock. They hinted that Cripps merely carried a proposal as the agent of No. 10, Downing Street.

The mission, which by some observers was regarded as likely to be successful even some hours before the end of discussions, failed. It was generally attributed to Cripps remaining adamant over a vital point which made Congress take the view that the promise of transference of power was not real.

Albert Victor Alexander

An outstanding leader, whom the rapid expansion of the Labour and Co-operative movement produced, is Albert Victor Alexander. He rose from an offiee boy's stool to become a statesman of democracy.

Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in the first Labour Government of 1942 he was chosen First Lord of Admirality in the second Labour Government. In the present Government he holds the same office.

Born at Weston-Super-Mare in 1874, Alexander began to earn his living at the age of 13, his mother having been widowed when he was little more than a baby in arms. She was his great inspiration. Once he observed : "A good mother is the biggest asset to any young man who wants to make his way in life."

He augmented his elementary education at the technical school at Bristol, and in a short time made his first step in the career as an educational administrator.

Alexander's appointment as Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress brought him right into the political field, and almost at once he established himself as a first rate controversialist.

As a champion of the interest of the people he quickly caught the ear of the house, and emerged as a strong force at Westminister.

During the political and economic controversy in the summer of 1931, Alexander stood steadfastly by the majority in the Labour Cabinet, resigning office with his colleagues and vigorously opposing Ramsay MacDonald and his Nationalist supporters.

In the election which followed, he was one of the Prime Minister's most damaging critics.

Thereafter he returned to his post as

Parliamentary Secretary to the Co-operative Congress, and again became an outstanding spokesman of the movement resisting the tax on its undivided surpluses.

A man of peaceful and home-loving vocations, the First Lord spends as much time as possible with his wife and daughter. He is a director of the Chelsea Football Club and loves to spend Saturday afternoons watching the home team play.

LORD WAVELL



Wavell, formerly General and Commander-in-chief of the Indian armies now Lord Wavell and Viceroy of India assumed charge of his new office in 1943 Besides being a soldier, Wavell is what used to be known as "a man of parts," a man of wide interests. He has made some very forth right statements as to the important part played by Indin troops in the campaigns of Near East and North Africa. He made a telling gesture in cutting down the pomp and ceremony connected with his assuming power as Viceroy, and immediately took steps to investigate and handle the famine situation in India. He released all the political leaders and set up the stage for Simla-Conference. Though it pathetically failed yet he did not lose heart and carried on his efforts. Finally he seems to be successful in making the Congress and the League agree on some point.

The Cabinet Mission has abolished many offices occupied by the "Blimpishers" but not his one. Let us hope he will not exercise his veto power.

GANDHI



Mohandas Karam chand Gandhi, was born on 2 October 1869 in the small Indian state of Probandar. He comes from a prosperous o r t h od ox, Hindu Family, devotees of Ahimsadoctrine of non-violence. He studied law in England and prac tised in South Africa where he remained for, more than twenty years, championing the cause of his compatriots and evolving the theory of non violent resistance with which his name will ever be linked.

Loyal to the British until 1919, he turned rebel as a protest against what he considered Britain's betrayal of his people after the first world war. In 1920 he launched his first India wide Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1924 he was elected President of the Congress and shortly after wards temporarily retired from active politics. In 1930 he launched another Civil Disobedience Campaign. He participated in the Round Table Conference London in 1931. In 1934 he

retired from the Congress although he has continued to run it from behind the scenes. In August 1942 he was arrested in connection with 'Quit India' resolution, and before he was released two of his intimate Colleagues (Mahadev Desai and Kasturabai Gandhi) had left him for ever.

For the last twenty seven years he has been the undisputed leader of the Indian National Congress. Even those who do not accept his political social and economic ideas look upon him as a Mahatma. His asceticism has an irresistable appeal to the religious masses of India, and he has become a symbol of India's fight for freedom. He has an unshakable faith in the efficacy of non-violence to achieve his ends.

He is out to uproot the institution of untouchabitily, but believes in the basic theory of caste system. The India of his dreams is an agrarian India of villages, of simplicity of life given stability by rejuvenated cottage industries. But in this, Gandhi's is a voice in the wilderness, as India is moving towards industrialism. He participated as an adviser in Simla Conference as well as the Tripartite Conference held at Delhi and Simla in April May 1946. He has shown some satisfaction in Mission proposals but is still hoped to carry on his fight to see India Ex-Wavell.

AZAD



Maulana Abdul Kalam Mohiyuddin Ahmed Azad, a great Moslem Theologian, was born in Mecca in 1888. He passed his childhood in Arabia. He was educated in theology in famous Al-Azhar University, Cairo.

He started famous urdu daily Al-Hilal in Calcutta. Suppressed by the Government he immediately started another Al-Balagh.

He met Mahatma Gahdhi in 1921 and became one of his staunchest supporters. He took a leading part in the Khilafat movement and also joined the Congress under Gandhi's leadership.

He presided over special session of the Congress, Delhi, 1923, and acted as president in 1930. He is president of the Congress since 1940. He was imprisoned in 1942 under Defence of India Rules and was released on June 15, 1945. He lost his beloved wife during this imprisonment.

He is the author of a commentary on the Quran in three volumes which is considered one of the most scholarly and authoritative. He is a strong advocate of a free and united India.



Jawahar Lal (born 1889) is the outstanding political figure in India. He is a Kashmiri Brahmin. He is the only son of late Pandit Moti lal Nehru, a great lawyer and a champion of Indian nationalism. Jawahar Lal was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge. As a student in England he came under the influence of Fabian socicty. He is a confirmed socialist, who believes that only rapid and vast in dustrialization can abolish India's grinding poverty. His voluntary renuunciationof a privileged and easy life for one of suffering and imprisonment has made him a hero in the eyes of India's millions.

He was elected president of the Congress in 1929 and again in 1936 and 1937. He is president elect for the session to be held in September 1946.

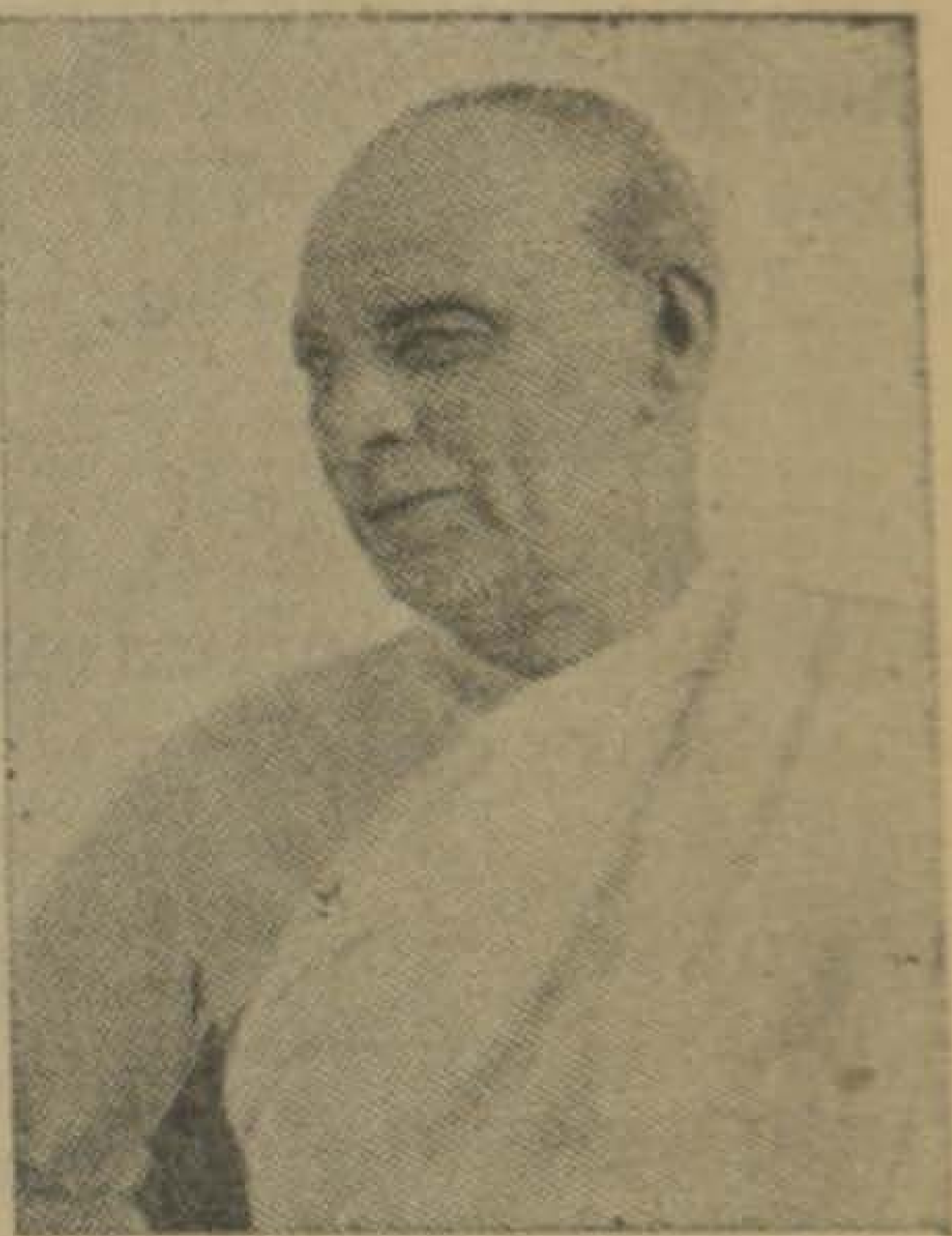
He is one of the greatest stylists among Indian writers of the English language. He has written an autobiography which every one ought to read. To read this book is to understand India.

The seeming paradise of Nehru is that he, an internationalist, a socialist and a militant opponent of dictatorship (he once refused to see Mussolini) endorses the Gandhian programme even when it clashes with his convictions. The likely enplanation is that Nehru believes that Gandhi is the Congress and that since the Congress is the only organization which can secure independence for India, the unity of its members is more important than its individuals.

Although he had fundamental differences with Netaji Subhas Chander Bose, yet he was the first to raise his voice in support of the Indian National Army, of which India will be proud till its last child.

A few months back he declared in a speech at Delhi "To achieve freedom for India is only a part of the programme of my life. The real work which I aim to do is to build free India, to raise it socially, economically and politically and to make it a first rate nation of the world."

SARDAR PATEL



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was born on 21st October 1875 at Karamsad near Nadiad. He matriculated from the Nadiad High School. After passing District Pleader's Examination he began practice on the criminal side of Godhra. Thereafter he went to England and was called to the Bar at Middle Temple. On return from England he started practising at Ahmedabad.

He entered public life in 1916 as an associate of Mahatma Gandhi who had established his Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad. He came into prominence as a Satyagraha leader first at Kaira and then in the Nagpur National Flag agitation and elsewhere in the Bardoli-no-tax Compaign. He was elected President of the Ahmedabad Muncipality in 1924 and continued upto 1928 when he left Ahmedabad for Bardoli. He was acclaimed "Sardar" by Gandhiji in acknowledgement of the efficiency with which

he conducted the Bardoli campaign. He was elected President of the 26th Indian National Congress held at Karachi in 1931. He went to jail several times in pursuance of the Congress Civil Disobedience movements. As chairman of the Congress Parliamentary sub-Committee 1935-42 he controlled activities of the ministeries in seven out of the eleven Indian Provinces. He negotiated with the Thakore Sahib of Rajkote on the question of reforms in the Government of the state in 1938-43.

He was arrested and imprisoned under Defence of India Rules in 1940, and was released in 1941 owing to illness. He was again arrested on August 9, 1942. and was released with members of Congress Working Committee on June 15, 1945. He works behind the scenes, seeks no publicity, and excercises termendous influence in the party machinery. Truely he is a man of few words and many triumphs.

KHAN ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN



Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan commonly known as "Frontier Gandhi" was born in 1891 at the village Uttamanazi in Peshawar. He has read upto Enterance standard. In 1909 he was offered Indian Commission in the army but he refused it.

He entered into a carreer of public activity in 1912. He started a national school In his village but was suppressed in 1915. He took a prominent part in Rowlet Act agitation. He also joined in the Non-co-operation movement and wrs sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment in 1922, He came in personal contact with Mahatma Gandhi in 1928 and started Red Shirt Volunteer Corps known as 'Khudai Khidmat gar' in 1929. He was externed from Punjab and North Western Frontier Provinces. He has suffered imprisonment for several times for Congress cause. He is a most selfless man and prefers to be a worker than to be a leader. He is regarded as uncrowned king of the Pathans.



Mohammed Ali Jinnah; Born 25 December 1876; is an extremely able and wealthy Mohammedan lawyer. He was at one time a staunch supporter of the National Congress, and was known as the ambassador of Hindu-Moslem goodwill. He has always spurned British partronage and titles. Since Gandhi's rise to power, Jinnah has drifted away from the Congress. Gandhi's policy of direct action did not appeal to Jinnah, the constitutional lawyer. Nor did he have any use for Gandhi's asceticism. It is said that Jinnah, an inate man of pride and ambition, felt after a few years of Gandhi's movement that the current of events had passed him by. An urge for public applause and glory seized him. He revived the Moslem League that had been stagnating for years in the absence of dramatic leadership. From demanding more and more concessions for Moslem rights that he felt or imagined might be in jeopardy under a Hindu majority, he finally arrived at the point of demands

for a separate Moslem State—Pakistan. He has been accusing the Congress of betraying the interest of the Moslem minority. Like a true demagogue he makes his appeal to simple emotions. Since the indirect recognition of his plan by Britain in the Cripps proposal, and with all the Congress leaders in jail, Jinnah has had the political field all to himself and has exploited it fully. It is alleged by some that Jinnah does not at heart believe in Pakistan but has been using it for bargaining purposes to extract from the nationalists the maximum concessions for the Moslem minority.

He on account of his stubbornness made the Simla Conference end in smoke and the same happened to the Tripartite Conference, but finding that the mission was bent on settlement and was ready to form an Interim Government even without him, he has changed his attitude. We have something as a result *i. e.*, The Cabinet Missions offer. Let us watch for his next step.

REACTIONS TO THE MISSION'S PROPOSALS

Gandhiji Points out "Vital Defects"

"Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State paper seems to me to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and if it prevails, it will be a bad omen.

"A nation that desires alien troops for its safety, internal or external, or has them imposed upon it, can never be described as independent in any sense of the term. It is in effect a nation unfit for self-government. The acid test is that it should be able to stand alone, erect and unbending. During the interim period we must learn to hop unaided, if we are to walk when we are free. We must cease from now to be so spoon-fed.

"Question of paramountcy is unsolved. It is not enough to say that paramountcy will end with the end of British rule in India. If it persists without check during the interim period, it will leave behind a difficult legacy for the Government. If it cannot be ended with the establishment of the interim Government, it should be exercised in co-operation with it and purely for the benefit of the people of the States.

It is the people who want and are fighting for independence, not the Princes who are sustained by alien power even when they claim not to be its creation for the suppression of liberties of the people. The Princes, if they are true to their professions, should welcome this popular use of paramountcy so as to accommodate themselves to the sovereignty of the people envisaged under the new scheme."

Congress Working Committee Resolution

In considering the statement of the cabinet Mission the Working Committee have kept in view the formation of a provisional Government and the clarification given by members of the delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objectives they aim at. These objectives are :—Independence for India, a strong, though limited, central authority, full autonomy for the provinces, the establishment of a democratic structure in the centre and in the units, the gurantee of the fundamenlal rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth, and further that each community should have opportunity to live the

life of its choice within the larger framework.

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in para 23 of the statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence and all obstruction and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

A provisional national Government must have a new basis and must be a precursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recoganition of that fact, though changes in law need not be made at this stage. The Governor General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period, but the Government should function as a cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature.

The status, power and composition of the provisional Government should be fully defined

in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

Mr. Jinnah's Statement

I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a compiete sovereign state of Pakistan which, we still hold, is the only solution of the costitutional problem of India and which alone can secure a stable government and lead to the happiness and welfare not only of the two major communities but of all the people of this sub-continent.

"It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought it fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and resort to special pleadings, couched in deplorable language, which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India. It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress.

(The All-India Muslim League Council by an overwhelming majority of 300 to 15 decided to accept the Mission's proposal on 6th June 1946.)

Congress Socialist Viewpoint

It is quite probable that the Cabinet

Award may prove to be a failure and the very British Labour Party that has conceded the Award may launch an attack on the Congress. A sudden offensive would be a total surprise to the Congress and it would be very difficult to have an effective campaign against the Government. Now Congress workers should reach the Kisans and Mazdoors without delay with an emergency programme The masses should prepare now for a real struggle." (Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali.)

Communist point of view

The prospect before our people is grim. We may only have a Constitution-making Body bristling with deadlocks. We may not even have an Interim Government.

The tactics followed by the leaders of the two main parties have led to a situation where there is not only no freedom, but we may not even have a popular Government at the Centre, capable of solving the problems of life of our people.

More struggles between the parties, more miseries for our people. and a longer lease of life for the British rulers—these are the likely propects. —(A. S. R. Chari)

M. Tara Singh's Call to the Khalsa

"The whole future of the Sikhs has been entrusted to a house of 36 members of whom

23 shall be Muslims, 9 Hindus and 4 Sikhs. Can we expect any justice, any consideration or any fairplay from such a body, specially when it is known that the British bayonets are here to protect and carry out its decision? We are already groaning under Muslim domination, which is now being strengthened and stiffened. We are doomed. We must now stand upon our own legs or fall for ever Now or never. Unite to a man; rise, rise to a man and be prepared to die, die to a man. Oh Khalsa, Oh sons of the Great Guru Gobind Singh! Shall we perish without a struggle? Accursed is he who stands aloof now.

The English conquered the Punjab from us, held it in trust and are now making it over to those from whom we had conquered it. That is the position in a nutshell. This is being done on the ground that the Muslims are in a majority. The Muslims claim to be a separate nation. How can they have the advantage of a majority when they are, according to their own admission, an alien nation?"

A majority has no right over a minority simply on the strength of its numbers. Let the British quit India and we might be able to settle peacefully with the Muslims or

failing that try our strength. But we are not going to submit to an unreasonable demand, affecting our very existence. The Anglo-Muslim combination may appear too strong for us, but I have faith in the justice of my cause.

The English are, at present, giving to the Jews the possession of Palestine, their homeland, and are dispossessing the Sikhs of the Punjab, their homeland. But Almighty is great and we have faith in him. He will give us strength and courage in the coming ordeal."

Baba Kharak Singh's Appeal.

"The manner in which the British Cabinet Mission has ignored the minorities in general and the Sikhs in particular, has no parallel. The Sikhs were already groaning under the inequities of the Communal Award but the present proposal of the Cabinet Mission has added insult to injury. In my opinion it is the greatest betrayal of the legitimate rights of the Sikhs. I hope that the Khalsa will not stoop so low as to submit to this grave injustice. I appeal to the Panth as a whole to present a united front at this critical stage and be prepared to stake its all to get the wrong rectified."

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(For use of the readers)

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